From Washington.

blondey, Dec. 5, Congress assembled-a quorpresent in both Houses. The President is exedingly weak. On Tuesday the message was

MESSAGE.

Pallow citizens of the Senate,
and House of Representatives:
Addressing to you the last annual message I shall
aver present to the congress of the U S it is a source
of the most heartfelt satisfaction to be able to congratulate you on the high state of prosperty which
our belowed country has attained—with no causes
at home or abroad to lessen the confidence with
which we look to the future for continuing proofs of
the capacity of our free institutions to produce all

which we look to the fature for continuing proofs of the capacity of our free institutions to produce all the fruits of good government, the general condition of our affairs may well excite our national pride.

I cannot avoid congratulating you and my country particularly, on the success of the efforts made during my administration by the executive and legislature, in conformity with the suncers, constant and establish cordial relations with all foreign powers. Our gratitude is due to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and I invite you to unite with me in offering to Him fervent supplication, that his providential care may ever be extended to those who follow us, eaching thom to avoid the dangers and hercors of war consistently with a just and indispensable regard to the right's k honer of our country. But although the present state of our foreign affairs, standing, without important change, as they did when you departed in July less, is flattering in the extreme, I regret to say, that many questions of an interesting

parted in July last, is flattering in the extreme, I regret to say, that many questions of an interesting character at issue with other powers, are yet unadjusted. Amongst the most prominent of these is that of the Northern boundary. With an undiminished confidence in the sincere desire of his Britanic Elijesty's Government to adjust that question, I am not, yet in peasession of the precise grounds upon which it proposes a sati-factory adjustment.

With France our diplomatic relations have been resumed, and under circumstances which attent the disposition of both governments to preserve a munually beneficial intercourse, and foster these amicable feelings which are so strongly required by the true interests of the two countries. With Bussia, Austria, Pursia, Naples, Sweeden, and Denmark, the best understandings exist, and our commercial intercourse is gradually expanding used with them. It is encouraged in all trees countries, except Naples, by their mutually advantageous and liberal treaty a pulations with us.

is encouraged in all ness countries, except Naples, by their mutually advantageous and liberal treaty a polisticus with us.

The claims of our citizens on Portugal are admit ed to be just, but provision for the payment of teem has been unfortunately delayed by frequent political changes in that kingdom.

The blessings of peace have not been secured by drain. Our connections with that country are on the best footing, with the exception of the burdens still imposed upon our commerce with her posses submitted to the farmer of Antwerp have been presented to the governments of Holland and Beignun, and will be pressed in due season to settlement. With Brazil, and all our neighbors, we continue to maintain relations of amity and concord, extending our commerce with them as far as the resources of the people and the policy of their government will permit. The just and long standing claim of our citizens upon some of them, are yet sources of disastisfaction and complaint. No danger is apprehended, however, that they will not be peaceably, althout ardily, acknowledged and paid by all, unless the irritating effect of her struggle with Texas shold unfortunately make our immediate neighbor, Mexienfortunately make our immediate neighbor, Mexi-

on an exception.

It is already known to you, by the correspondence between the two governments semanticated at the last session, that our could in a full to that situg-gle is regulated by the same principles that govern-el us in the dispute between Spain & Mexico herel us in the dispute between Spain & Mexico her-celf, and I trust that it will be found, on the most seeeff, and I trust that it will be found, on the most sezere scruting, that our acts have strictly corresponded with our professions. That the inhabitants of
the US statud feel strong prepossessions for the
one party is not surprising. But this circumstance
should of itself, teach us great easilon, lest it lead us
to the great error of suffering public policy to be
regulated by partiality or prejudice—and there are
somedistations connected with the possible result of
this contest between the two partice, of so much deisincy and importance to the U S, that our character
requires that we should neither anticipate executs,
not attempt to control them. The known desire of
the Texanas to become a part of our system, althoits granification depends upon the reconcilement of
stricuts conflicting interests, necessarily a work of
timp, and uncertain in itself, is calculated to expose
that conduct to mean onstruction in the eyes of the
world. There are airready those who, midferent to
principles themselves, and prone to suspect the want world. There are aiready those who, miliferent to principles themselves, and prone to suspect the want of it in others, charge us with ambinious designs and ratidious policy. You will perceive by the accommany of documents, that the extraordinary mission fiers Mexico has been terminated on the sole ground that the obligations of this government to itself and to Mexico, under treaty stipulations, have compelled me to trust a discretionary authority to a high officer of our army, to advance into territory claimed as part of Texas, if necessary to protect our own or the neighboring from tier from Indian depredation. In the opinion of the Mexican functionary who has just left us, the honor of his country will be wounded by American soldiers entering, with the most amicable arowed purposes, upon ground from which the followers of his government have been expelled, & over which there is at present no certainty of a serious effort on its part being made to re-establish its doeffort on its part being made to re-establish its do-migion. The departure of this Minister was the more singular, as he was apprised that the sufficienby of the causes assigned for the advance of our troops by the commanding general, had been seriously doubted by me—and that there was every readen to suppose that the troops of the U.S. their companies the readen having had time to ascertain the truth or larshood of the information upon which they had been marched to Nacogdoches, would be either there in refrect accordance with principles admitted to be suit in his conference with the Secretary of State, by the Memean minister himself, or were already withdrawn in consequence of the impressive warning their commanding officer had received from the department of war. It is hoped and believed that his government will take a more dispassionate and first new of this subject, and not be disposed to concrete a measure of justifiable precaution made necessary by its known inability, in execution of the

seary by its known mability, in execution of the etipulations of our treaty, to not upon the frontier, in h an encroachment upon its rights, or a stain upits honor. In the meantime, the ancient complaints of injusice, made on behalf of our suzens, are disregarde

add now causes of dissatisfaction have arisen, some of them of a character requiring prompt remnstrance and ample and immediate redress. I truet, however, by tempering firmness with courtesy, and acting with great forbearance upon every incident that has occurred, or that may happen, to do and to obtain justice, and thus avoid the necessity of again bringing this subject to the view of Congress.

It is may duty to remind you, that no provision has been made to execute our treaty with Mexico for tracing the boundary line between the two countries. Whatever may be the prospect of Mexico being soon able to execute the treaty on its part, it is proper that we should be, in anticipation, prepared at all times to perform our obligations, without regard to the probable condition of those with whom we have postered them.

The result of the confidential inquiries made into be condition and prospects of the newly declared l'exan government, will be communicated to you in

Commercial treaties, promising great ad-· antages to our enterprizing merchants & evigators, have been formed with the dismet government of Muscat and Siam .-The mufications have been exchanged, but have not reached the department of siste; copies of the treaties will be translated to you, if received before, or published, if arriving after, the close of the present session

of Congress. Nothing has occurred to interrupt the good understanding that has long existed with the Barbary Powers, nor to check the good will which is gradually growing up in our intercourse with the commions of the government of the distinguished chief of the Ottoman Empire,

Information has been received at the department of state, that a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco has just been negotiated, which, I hope, will be received in time

to be laid before the Senate previous to the You will perceive, from the report of the secretary of the treasury, that the financial means of the country continue to keep pace with its improvement in all other respects. The receipts into the treasury during the present year will amount to about \$42,691,-398-those from customs being estimated at \$22,523,151-those from lands at about \$14,000,900, and the residue from miscellaneous sources. The expenditures for all objects during the year are estimated not to exceed \$22,000,000, which will leave a balance in the treasury for public purposes on the first day of January next, of about \$41,723,959. This sum, with the exception of five millions, will be transferred to the several states, in accordance with the

tes of the public money. The unexpended balances of appropriation, on the first day of Jan. next, are estimated at \$14,636,062, exceeding by \$9,939,072, the amount of which will be left in the deposite banks, subject to the draft of the treasurer of the U. S., after the contemplated transfers to the several states are made. If therefore the future receipts sho'd not be sufficient to meet these outstanding and future appropriations, there may soon be a necessity to use a portion of the funds deposited with the states.

The consequences apprehended when

the deposite act of the last session received a reluctant approval, have been measurably realized. The an act merely for the deposite of the surplus moneys of the U. S. to the state treasuries, for safe keeping, until they may be wanted for the service of the general government, it has been extensivey spoken of as an act to give the money to states, and they have been advised to se it as a gift, without regard to the means of refunding it when called for. Such a suggestion has doubtless been made with-out due consideration of the obligation of the deposite act, and without a proper attention to the various principles and inter-

ests which are affected by it.

It is manifest that the law itself cannot sanction such a suggestion, and that, as it now stands, the States have no more authority to receive and use States have no more authority to receive and use these deposites without intending to return them, than any deposite bank, or any individual charged with the saic keeping or application of the public money, would now have for the converting the same to their private use, without the consent and against the will of the Government. But independently of the violations of public faith and moral obligation which are involved in this suggestion, when examined in reference to the terms of the present deposit act, it is believed that the considerations which should govern the future legislation of Congress on this subject, will be equally conclusive against the adoption of any measure recognizing the principles on which the suggestion has been made.

Considering the intimate connection of the sub-

Considering the intimate connection of the sub

ject with the financial interests of the country, and its great importance in whatever aspect it can be viewed, I have bestowed upon it the most anxious reflection, and feel it be my duty to state to Congress such thoughts as have occurred to me, to aid four deliberation in treating it in the manner best calculated to conduce to the common good.

The experience of other nations adminished us to hasten the extinguishment of the public debt. But it will be in vain that we have congratulated each other upon the disappearance of this evil, if we do not guard against the equality greatene of promoting the unnecessary accumulation of public revenue.—No pointical maxim is better established than that which tells us that an improvident expenditure of which tells us that an improvedent exponditure of money is the parent of profligacy, and that no pec-ule can hope to perpetuate their liberies who long acquisece in a policy which taxes then for objects not necessary to the legitimate and real wants of not necessary to the legitimate and real wants of their G vernment. Flattering as is the condition of our country at the present period, because of is unexampled advance in all the steps of social and political improvement, it cannot be disguised that there is a lurking stanger already apparent in the neglect of this warning truth, and that the time has arrived when the representatives of the people should be employed in devicing some more appropriate remedy than now exists, to avert it.

A bare inspection, in the annexed table, of the dif-ferences produced by the ratio used in the deposite act compared with the results of a distribution according to the ratio of direct taxation, must satisfy every unprejudiced mind, that the former ratio con-travenes the spirit of the constitution, and produces a degree of injustice in the operation of the Govern-ment which would be fatal to the hope of perpetuating it. By the ratio of direct laxation, for example, the state of Delaware, in the collection of \$50,000, 000 of revenue, would pay into the Treasury \$188,716; and in a distribution of \$30,000,000 she would receive back from the Government according to the ratio of the deposite bill, the sum of \$306,122; and similar results would follow the comparison between the small and the large States throughout the Union; thus realizing to the small states an advantage which would be doubtless as unacceptable to them system which would produce it, as it would be incon-sistent with the rights and expectations of the large states. It was certainly the intention of that pro-vision of the constitution which declares that "all ut the United States," to make the burdens of tax-tion fall equally upon the people in whatever state f the Union they may reside. But what would be ation fall equally upon the people in whatever state of the Union they may reside. But what would be the value of such an uniform rule if the moneys raised by it could be immediately returned by a different one which will give to the people of some states much more and to those of others much less, than the fair proportions? Were the Federal Government to exempt, in express terms, the imports, products and manufactures of some portions of the country from all duties, while it imposed heavy ones on others, the injustice could not be greater. It would be easy to show how, by the operation of such a principle, the large states of the Umon would not only have to contribute their just share towards the support of the Federal Government, but also to have to bear in some degree the taxes necessary to support the Government of the smaller sisters; but it is deemed unnecessary to state the datails where the general principle is so obvious.

A system liable to such objections can never be supposed to have been sanctioned by the framers of the constitution, when they conferred on Congress the taxing power: and I feel persuaded that a mature examination of the subject will satisfy every one that there are insurmountable difficulties in the operation of any plan which can be devised of collecting evening for the purpose of distribution it. Congress ation of any plan which can be devised of collecting revenue for the purpose of disributing it. Congress is only authorized to levy laxes he pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." There is no such provision as would authorise Congress to collect together the property of the country, under the name of revenue, for the purpose of dividing it equally or unequally among the states or the people. Indeed, it is not probable that such an idea ever occurred to the States when they adopted the constitution.—But, however this may be, the only safe rule for us interpreting the powers granted to the Federal in interpreting the powers granted to the Federal Government, is to regard the absence of express au-thority to touch a subject so important and delicate as this is, as equivalent to a prohibition.

Even if our powers were less doubtful in this pect, as the constitution now stands, there are onsiderations afforded by recent experience, which would seem to make it our duty to avoid a resort to

All will admit that the simplicity and economy of the State Governments, mainly depend on the fact that money has to be supplied to support them by the same men, or their agents, who vote it away in appropriations. Hence, when there are extravagant and wasteful appropriations, the emist be a corresponding increase of issues; and the people becoming awastened, will necessarily scrutimise the character of measures which thus increase their burdens. By the watchful eye of self interest, the agents of the people in the State Governments are repressed, and kept within the limits of a just economy. But if the necessity of levying the traces he taken from show who make the appropriations, and thrown upon a more distant and less responsible set of mich. All will admit that the simplicity and econor these who make the appropriations, and thrown upon a more distant and less responsible set of public agents, who have power to approach the people by an indirect and stealthy taxation, there is reason to four that produgality will soon superaced those characteristics which have thus far made us look with so much pride and confidence to the state Gov-eraments, as the main stay of our Union and liber-

tres. The state legislatures, instead of stidying to restrict their state expenditures to the smalest possible sum, will claim credit for their prefession, and harrass the General Government for occasionand harrass the General Government for occasionand harrass the General Government for occasional power, and that vested in a body of men fir remeved from the people, in which the farming and mechanic interests would scarcely be represented.—
The states would gradually loss their purity as well as their independence; they would not due to mirmur at the proceedings of the General Government, test they should loss their supplies; all would be merged in a practical consolidation, certained by wide-spread coruption, which could only se eradicated by one of those bloody revolutions which occasionally overthrow the despotic system of the old casionally overthrow the despotic system of the old

world.

In all other respects in which I have been able to look at the effect of such a principle of distribution upon the best interests of the country, I cm see nothing to compensate for the disadvantages to which I have adverted. If we consider the prescrive duties, which are, in a great degree, the surrect distribution of the Union, and prejudicial to another, there is no corrective for the evil in such a plan of distribution.—On the contrary, there is reann to fear that all the surplus revenue, beneficial to one section of the Union, and prejudicial to another, there is no corrective for the evil in such a plan of distribution.—
On the contrary, there is reason to fear that all the complaints which have spring from this cause would be aggravated. Every one must be sensible that a distribution of the surplus must beget a disposition to cherish the means which cream it; and any sylvem, therefore, into which it entirs, must have a powerful tendency to increase, raher than diminish the tariff. If it were even admitted that the advantages of such a system could be made equal to all the sections of the Union, the reasons already so urgently calling for a reduction of the revenue, would, nevertheless, lose none of their force; it will always be improbable that an intelligent and virtuous community can consent traise a surplus for the mere purpose of dividing it diminished as it must inevitably be by the expense of the various manifinersy necessary to the process.

The sefect and simplest mode of obviating all the difficulties which have been mentioned, is it collect only revenue enough to meet the wants of dis government, and let the people keep the balance of the property in their own hands, to be used for their own profit. Each State will then support in after own profit. Each State will then support is after Government, and contribute its due share rewards the support of the General Government. There would be not surplus to cramp and lessen the resources of individual wealth and enverprise, sail the hanks would be left to their ordinary means. Whatever agitations and fluctuations might arise from our unfortunate paper system, they could never be attributed, justly or unjustly, to the action of the Federal Government. There would be some guaranty that the spirit of wild speculation, which seeks to convert the surplus revenue into banking captus, would be effectually checked, and that the scenes of demoralization, which are now so prevalent through the land, would disappear. provisions of the act regulating the depos-

effectually checked, and that the scenes of usmore reation, which are now so prevalent through the land, would disappear.

Without desiring to conceal that the experience and observation of the last two years, have operated a partial change in my views upon this interesting subject, it is nevertheless regretted that the suggestions made by me in my annual message of 1829 and 1830, have been greatly misunderstood. At that time the great struggle was begun against that latitudinarian construction of the constitution, which authorizes the unlimited appropriation of the revenues of the Union to internal improvements within ues of the Union to internal improvements within the States, tending to divert into the hands, and place under the control of the General Sovernment, all the principal roads and canals of the country, in violation of State rights, and in derogation of State authority. At the same time, the condition of the manufacturing interest was such as to create an ap-prohest ion that the duties on imports could not, without extensive mischief, he reduced in season to without extensive mischief, he radiocad in season to prevent the accumulation of a considerable surplus after the payment of the national debt. In view of the dangers of such a surplus, and in preference to its application to internal improvements, in derogation of the rights and powers of the States, the suggestion of an amendment of the constitution to authorise its distribution was made. It was an alternative for what were deemed greater evils—a temporary resort to relieve an overhardened Treasury until the Government could, without a sudden and destructive revulsion in the the business of the country, gradually return to the just principle of raising contractive revusion in the hosaicsa of the country, gradually return to the just principle of raising no more revenue from the people, in taxes, than is necessary for its economical support. Even that alternative was not spoken of but in connection with an amendment of the constitution. No temporary inconvenience can justify the exercise of a prohibited power, or a pewer not granted by that inconvenience and it was from a conviction that the strument; and it was from a conviction that the power to distribute a temperary surplus of revenue is of that character, that it was suggested only in power to distribute a temperary surplus of revenue is of that character, that it was suggested only in connection with an appeal to the source of all legal power in the Genoral Government, the Statca which have established it. No such appeal has been taken, and in my opinion a distribution of the surplus revenue by Constrain, either to the States or tr. the people, is to be considered as among the prohibitions of the constitution. As already intimated, my views have undergone a change, so far as to be convinced that no alteration of the constitution in the respect is wise or expedient. The influenced accumulating surplus upon the legislation of Geueral Government and the States it effects upon the credit system of the country, producing dangerous extensions and ruinous contractions, fluctuations in the price of property, rash speculations, extravagance, and a detionation of morals, have laught us the important, esson, that any transient mischief which may attend the reduction of our revenue to the wants of our government, is to be borne in preference to an overflowing Treasury.

Under our present revenue system, there is every probability that there will continue to be a surplus beyond the wants of the Government; and it has become our duty to decide whether such a result be consistent with the true objects of our Government.

Should a surplus be permitted to accumulate, beyond the appropriations, it must be retained in the Treasury as it now is, or distributed among the permit of the State. people or the States.

To retain it in the Treasury, noemployed in any way, is impracticable. It is, besides, against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in vaults the treasure of the nation. To take from the propie the right of bearing arms, and put their weapons of defence in the hands of a standing army, would be scarcely more dangerous to their liberties than to permit the Government to accomulate immense amounts of treasure beyond the supplies necessary to its legitimate wants. Such a treasure would doubtless be employed, at some time, as it has been in other countries, when opportunity tempted ambition.

To collect merely for distribution to the States, would seem to be highly impolitic, if not as dangerous, as the propostion to retain it in the Troasury. The shortest reflection must satisfy every one that to require the people to pay taxes to the Government, merely that they may be paid back again, is sporting with the substantial interests of the country, and no system which produces such a result can be expected to receive public countenance. Nothing could be gamed by it, oven if each individual who contributed a portion of the tax could receive back promptly the rate portion. But it is apparent that no system of the kind can ever be enforced, which will not absorb a considerable portion of the money, to be distributed, in salaries and commissions to the agents employed in the process, and in the various losses and depreciations which arise from other causes; and its practical effect of such an attempt must ever be to burthen the people with taxes, not for purposes beneficial to them, but to swell the profits of the deposit banks, and support a band of uscless public officers.

A distribution to the people is impracticable and To collect merely for distribution to the States,

A distribution to the people is impractisable and A distribution to the people is impractisable and the respects. It would be taking on A distribution to the people is impractisable and unjust in other respects. It would be taking one must reporetry and giving it to another. Such would be the unavoidable result of a rule of equality (and none other is spoken of, or would be likely to be adopted) insamuch as there is no mode by which the amount of the individual contributions of citizens to the revenue can be ascertained. We know that they contribute enequally, and a rule therefore that would distribute to them equally would be liable to all the objections which apply to the principle of an equal division of property. To make the General Government the instrument of carrying this odious principle into effect, would be at once to destroy the means of ins usefulness, and change the character designed for it by the iramers of the constitution.

mers of the constitution.

But the more extended and injurious consequences likely to result from a policy which would collect a surplus revenue for the purpose of distributing it, may be forcibly illustrated by an examination of the effects already produced by the present set. This act, although certainly designed to secure the safe keeping of the public revenue, is not entirely free in its tendencies from many of the objections which apply to this principle of distribution. The Government had, without necessity, received from the needle a large surplus, which in tion. The Government had, without necessity, re-ceived from the people a targe surplus, which, in-stead of being employed as heretelore, and return-ed to them by means of the public expenditure, was deposited with sundry barnis. The banks pro-ceeded to make loans upon this surplus, and thus converted it into banking capital; and in this man-ner it has tended to multiply bank charters, and has a great agency in preducing a spirit of wild spacu-

ulation. The possession and one of the property out of which this surplus was created, belong to the people—but the government has transferred its possession to incorporated banks, whose interest and effort it is to make large profits out of its oss.—This process need only be stated to show its injustice and had policy.

And the same observations apply to the influence which it produced by the steps necessary to collect, as well as to distribute such a revenue. About there fifths of all the duties on imports are paid in the city of New York, but it is obvious that the means to nay those duties are drawn from every quarter of the

of New York, but it is obvious that the means to nay those duties are drawn from every quarter of the Union. Every citizen in every State, who purchases and consumes an article which has paid a duty at that port, contributes to the accumulating mass. The surplus collected there must, therefore, he The surplus collected there must, therefore, he made up out of money or property withdrawn from other points and other states. Thus the wealth and business of every region from which these surplus funds proceed, must be to some extent injured, while that of the place where the funds are concentrated, and are employed in banking, are proportionably extended. But both in making the transfer of the funds which are first necessary to pay the duties and collect the surplus—and in making the re-transfer of the property of the surplus and in making the re-transfer of the property of the surplus of the surp and collect the surplus—and in making the re-transfer, which becomes necessary when the time arrives for the distribution of that surplus—there is a considerable period when the funds cannot be brot into use; and it is manifest that, besides the loss inevisable from such an opinion, its tendency is to produce fluctuations in the business of the country, which are always productive of speculation, and detrimental to the interest of the regular trade.—

Argument can scarcely be necessary to show that a measure of this character ought not to receive further legislative encouragement.

a measure of this character ought not to the further legislative encouragement.

By examining the practical operations of the ratio for distribution, adopted in the deposite bill of last session, we shall discover other features, that annear entially objectionable. Let it be assumed,

the Gardistribution, adopted in the deposite bill of last session, we shall discover other features, that appear equally electionable. Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that the surplus money to be deposited with the Stries have been collected and belong to them, in the ratio of their federal representative population—an assumption founded upon the fact that any deficiences in our fature revenue from imposts and public lands, must be made up by direct taxes, collected from the States in that ratio. It is proposed to distribute the surplus, say \$30,000,000 not according to the ratio in which it has been collected and belongs to the people of the States, but in that of their votes in the colleges of slectors of President and Vice President. The effect of a distribution upon that ratio is shown by the annexed table, marked A.

By an examination of that table, it will be perceived that in the distribution of a surplus of \$30,000,000, upon that basis, there is a great departure from the principle which regards representation as the true measure of taxation; and it will be found hat the tendency of that departure will be to insuease whatever inequalities have been supposed to attend the operation of our federal system in respect to its bearings upon the different interests of the Union. In making the basis of representation, the framers of the constitution intended to estation, the framers of the constitution intended to estation, while it accomplished this object, was also the means of adjusting other great topics arising out of the conflicting views respecting the political equality of the various members of the conflicting equality. means of adjusting other great topics aroung out of the conflicting views respecting the political equality of the various members of the confederacy. Whatever therefore disturbs the liberal spirit of compromise which established a rule of taxation so just and equitable, and which experience has proved to be so well adapted to the grains and habits of our people, should be received with the greatest caution and distruss.

I beg leave to call your attention to another subject intimately associated with the preced-

ng one; the currency of the country. It is apparent, from the whole context of the constitution, as well as the history of the times which gave birth to it, that it was the purpose of the convention to establish a currency consisting of the precious metals. These, from their peculiar properties, which rendered them the standard of value in other countries, were nercial standard in reference to foreign counries by a permanent rule, as to exclude the use of a mutable medium of exchange, such as agtutes of some states as a tender for debts, or the still more permicious expedient of a par or currency. The last, from the experience of the evils of the issue of paper during the revolution, and become so justly obnoxious, as not only to suggest the clause in the constitution forbidding the emission of bills of credit by the states, but also to produce that vote in the con-vection which negatived the proposition to grant power to Congress to charter corpora-tions—a proposition well understood at the time, as intended to authorize the establish-ment of a national bank, which was to issue a currency of bank notes, on a capital to be cre-ated to some extent of government stocks. Although this proposition was refused by a direct vote of the convention, the object was afterwards in effect obtained, by the ingenious advocates through a strained construction of the constitution. The debts of the revolution were funded, at prices which formed no equistock, and under circumstances which exposed the motives of some of those who participated in the passage of the act to distrust.

The facts that the value of the stock was greatly advanced by the creation of the bank, t was well understood that such would be the cave, and that some of the advocates of the banks, but pervaded the whole multitude of banks throughout the Union, and was giving to the history of the times, and are well cales. care, and that some of the advocates of the to the history of the times, and are well calcuated to diminish the respect which might otherwise have been due to the action of the Congress which created the institution.

On the establishment of a national bank, it became the interest of its creditors, that gold should be superceded by the paper of the bank. as a general currency. A value was soon attached to the gold coins, which made their exportation to foreign countries, as a mercantile commodity, more profitable than their reten-tion and use at home as money. It followed, as a matter of course, if not designed by those who catablished the bank, that the bank be came, in effect, a substitute for the mint of the United States.

Such was the origin of a national bank currency, and such the beginning of those difficulties which now appear on the extensive issues of the banks inc. sporated in the various

Although it may not be possible, by any leg islative means within our power, to change at once the system which thus has been introduced, and has received the acquiescence of all portions of the country, it is certainly our duty to do all that is consistent with our con sritutionl obligations in preventing the mis chiefs which are threatened by its undue extension. That the efforts of the fathers of our Government to guard against it by a const tutional provision were founded on an intimate knowledge of the subject, has been frequently attested by the bitter experience of the country The same causes which led them to refus their sanction to a power authorising the espores, now exist in a much stronger degree to urge us to exert the utmost vigilance in calling into action the means vecessary to correct th evils resulting from the unfortunate exercise of the power, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity for effecting this great good will be improved before the country witnesses new scenes of embarrassment and distress.

Variableness must ever be the character of a currency of which the precious metals are not the chief ingredient, or which can be expanded or contracted without regard to the principles that regulate the value of those metals as a tandard in the general trade of the world. With us bank issues constitute such a curreacy, and must ever do so until they are made dependent on those just proportions of gold & silver, as a circulating medium, which experience has proved to be necessary not only in this but in all other commercial countries. Where those proportions are not infused into the circulation, and do not control it, it is manifest that prices must very according to the tide of bank issues, and the value and stability of property must stand exposed to all the un-

containty which attends the administration of institutions that are constantly liable to the temptation of an interest distinct from that of community in which they are established.

The progress of an expansion, or rather a depreciation of the currency, by excessive bank issues, is always attended by a loss to the laboring classes. This portion of the commubaring classes. This portion of the commu-nity have neither time nor opportunity to watch the cbbs and flows of the money market. Engaged from day to day in their useful toils, they do not perceive, that although their wages are nominally the same, or even somewhat higher, they are greatly reduced in fact by the rapid increase of a spurious currency, which, as it appears to make money abound, they are at first inclined to consider it a blessing. not so with the speculator, by whom this operation is better understood, and is made to contribute to his advantage. It is not until the prices of the necessaries of life become so cear that the isboring class cannot supply their wants out of their wages, that the wages rise, and gradually reach a justly proportioned rate to that of the products of their labor. When thus by the depreciation in consequence of the quantity of paper in circulation, wages as well as prices become exherbitant, it is soon found that the whole affect of the adulteration is a tariff on our home industry, for the benefit of the countries where gold and silver circulate, and maintain uniformity and moderation in prices. It is then perceived that the enhancement of the price of land and labor, produces a corresponding increase in the price of products, until those products do not sustain a competition with similar ones in other cour tries; and thus both manufactured and agricultural productions cease to bear exportation from the country of the spurious currency, befrom the country of the spurious currency, be-cause they cannot be sold for cost. This is the process by which specie is banished by the paper of the banks. Their vaults are seen ex-bausted to pay for foreign commodities: the next step is a stoppage of specie payment; a total degredation of paper as a currency; un-usual degression of prices; the ruin of destors, and the accumulation of property in the hands of creditors and cautious capitalists.

It was in view of these evils, together with the dangerous power wielded by the Bank of the United States, and its repugnance to our constitution, that I was induced to exert the power conferred upon me by the American people, to prevent the continuance of that in-But, although various dangers to our republican institutions have been obviated by the failure of that bank to exter, it is ob-Govrenment a renewal of its chatter, it is obthe failure of that bank to extort from the vious that little has been accomplished, except a salutary change of public opinion, towards restoring to the country the sound currency restoring to the country the sound currency provided for in the constitution. In the acts of several of the States, prohibiting the circulation of small notes, and the auxiliary coact ments of Congress at the last session, ding their reception or payment on public ac-count, the true policy of the country has been advanced, and a larger portion of the precious metals infused into our circulating medium. These measures will probably be followed up, in due time, by the enactment of State laws bantshing from the circulation bank notes of still higher denominations; and the object may be materially premoted by further acts of Congress, forbidding employment, as fiscal agents, of such banks as continue to issue notes of low denominations, and throw impodiments in the way of the circulation of gold and silver.

The cff cts of an extension of bank credits and over issues of Bank paper, have been stri-kingly illustrated in the sales of public lands. From the returns made by the various Registers' Receivers in the early part of last sumfrom the public lands were increasing to an mer, it was perceived that the receipts arising unprecedented amount. In effect, however, these receipts amounted to nothing more than credits in Banks. The Banks lent out their notes to speculators; they are paid to the Receivers, and immediately returned to the banks to be lent out again and again, being mere instruments to transfer to speculators the most valuable public land, and pay the Govcrament by a credit on the books of the banks Those credits on the books of some of the western banks, usually called deposites, were already beyond their immediate means of payment, and were rapidly incre sing. deed, such speculation form shed means for another; for no sooner had one individual or company paid in the notes, than they were immediately lent to another for a like purpose, and the banks were extending their and their issues so largely, as to alarm con-siderate men, and render it doubtful whe her these bank credits, if permitted to accomulate would ultimately be of the least value to the Government. The spirit of expansion and speculation was not confined to the deposite

rise to new institutions to aggravate the evil The safet; of the public funds and the inter est of the people generally, required that these operations should be checked; and it became the duty of every branch of the general and state governments to adopt all legitimate and proper means to produce that salutary effect. Under this view of my duty, I directed the is-suing of the order which will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury, requir-ing payment for the public lands sold to be made in specie, with an exception until the 15th of the present month in favor of actual settlers. This measure has produced many salulary consequences. It checked the car-eer of the western banks, and gave them additional strength in anticipation of the pres-sure which has since pervaded our castern as well as the European commercial cities. preventing the extension of the credit system, t measurably cut off the means of speculation and retarded its progress in monopolizing the most valuable of the public lands. It has tended to save the new States from a non-resident proprietorship, one of the greatest obstacles to proprictorship, one of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of a new country and the prosperity of an old one. It has tended to keep open the public lands for entry by emigrants at government prices, instead of their being compelled to purchase of speculators at double or triple prices. And it is conveying into the interior, large sums in silver and gold, there to enter permanently into the currency of the country, and place it on a firmer found-It is currently believed that the country will find in the motives which induced that der, and the happy consequences which will have ensued, much to commend and nothing condemn.

It remains for Congress, if they approve the policy which dicinted this order, to follow it up in its various bearings. Much good in my judgment, would be produced by prohibiting ales of the public lands, except to actual set tlers, at a reasonable reduction of price, and to imit the quantity which shall be sold to them.

Although it is believed the General Govrament never ought to receive anything but constitutional currency in exchange for the public lands, that point would be of luss importance if the lands were sold for immediate ettlement and cultivation. Indeed, there is scarcely any mischief arising out of our pre-sent land system, including the accumulating surplus of revenue, which would not be remedied at once by a restriction on land sales to actual settlers; and it promises other advantages to the country in general, and to the new states in particular, which cannot fail to receive the most profound consideration of Congress.

tations attertained as to the capacity of State Banks to perform the duties of fiscal agents for the government, at the time of the removal of the deposites. It was alleged by the advo-cates of the bank of the United States, that the State Banks, whatever might be the regula-tions of the Treasury Department, could not make the transfers required by the government, or negotiate the domestic exchanges of the or negotiate the demonste exchanges of the country. It is now well ascertained that the domestic exchanges performed, through discounts, by the United States Bank and its twenty-five branches, were at least one third less than those of the deposite banks for an equal period of time; and if a comparison bestituted between the amounts of service repdured by these institutions, on the broader banis which has been used by the advocates of the United States Bank in estimating what they consider the domestic exchanges transacted by it, the result will be still more favor able to the deposite banks.

The whole amount of public money transferred by the Bank of the United States is 1832, was \$16,000,000. The amount frans-ferred and actually paid by the deposite hanks in the year ending the first of October last, was \$39,319,899; the amount transferred and paid between that period and the sigth of November, was 5,399,000; and the amount of transfer warrants outstanding on that day was \$14,450,000, making an aggregate of \$59,168,894. These enormous sums of mo-ney first mentioned, have been transferred with the greatest promptitude and regularity, and the rates at which the exchanges hav negotiated previously to the passage of the de-posite act, were generally below those charged by the Bank of the United States. Independ-ently of those services, which are far greater than those rendered by the United States Bank and its twenty-five branches, a number

Bank and its twenty-five branches, a number of the deposite banks have, with a commendable zeal to aid in the improvement of the currency, imported from abroad, at their own expense, large sums of the precious metals for coinage and circulation.

In the same manner have nearly all the predictions turned out in respect to the effect of the removal of the deposites—a step inquestionably necessary to prevent the evils which it was foreseen the bank itself would endeavor to create, in a final struggle to procure a renewal of its charter. It may be thus, too, in some degree, with the further steps which may some degree, with the further steps which mer be taken to prevent the excessive issue of other bank paper; but it is to be hoped that no-thing will now deter the Federal and State authoritities from the vigorous performance of their duties to themselves and to the people in this respect. In reducing the revenue to the wants of the government, your particular atst tate the necessaries of life. The dutyon salt was laid as a war tax, and was no doubt continued to assist in providing for the payment of the war debt. There is no article, the release of which from taxeten, would be felt so generally and so beneficially. To this may be added all kinds of fuel and provisions.— Justice and benevolence unite in favor of releasing the poor of our cities from burdens which are not necessary for the support of our Government, and tend only to increase the

wants of the destitute.
It will be seen by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the accompanying de-cuments, that the Bank of the United States has made no payment on the stock theld by the government in that institution, although urged to pay any portion which might suit is convenience, and that it has given no infor-mation, when however. mation when payment may be expected.— Nor, although repeatedly requested, has it furnished the information in relation to its condition, which Congress authorised the Se cretary to collect at the last session; such measures as are within the power of the exe-cutive have been taken to ascertain the value of the stock and procure the payment as car ly as possible,

The conduct and present condition of that

bank, and the great amount of capital vester in it by the United States require your carefu attention. Its charter expired on the 3rd of March last, and it has now no power but the given in the 21st section, "to use the corporat name, style, and capacity, for the purpose of suits for the final settlement and liquidation of the affairs and accounts of the corporation, and for the sale and disposition of their estates real and personal, and mixed, but not for any other purpose, or any other manner whateo ter the the expiration of the said term of incorporation." Before the expiration of the char poration." Before the expiration of the charter, the stockholders of the bank obtained as act of incorporation from the Legislature Pennsylvania, excluding only the United States. Instead of proceeding to wind up their concerns, and pay over to the Unked State the amount due on account of the stock hel by them, the president and directors of the of bank appear to have transferred the books, papers, notes, obligations, and most or all of its property to this new corporation, while entered upon business as a continuation of the old concern. Amongst other sets of questionable validity, the notes of the expired conporation are knewn to have been used as it old bank had no right to issue or re-issue notes after the expiration of its charter, canno be denied, and that it could not confer an such right on its substitute, any more than exercise it itself, is equally plain. In law and honesty, the notes of the bank in circulation at the expiration of its charfer, should have been called in by public advertisement, pour as presented, and, toegther with those of hand, cancelled and destroyed. Their re-is no necessity. If the United States be responsible in their stock for the payment of the notes, their re-isene by the new corporatio tor their own profit, is a traud on the government. It the United States is not responsible then there is no legal responsibility in acquarter, and it is a frand on the country.

They are the redeemed nates of a discover partnership, but contrary to the wishes of the retiring partner, and without his consent at

again re-issued and circulated.
It is the high and peculiar duty of Congres to decide whether any futher legislation necessary for the security of the large amous of public property now held in and in use to the new bank, and for vindicating the right of the government, and compelling a speed and honest rettlement with all the creditors the eld bank, public and private, or whethe the subject shall be left to the power now pos-sersed by the Executive and Judiciary. It remains to be seen whether the persons whe, managers of the old bank, undertook to co-trol the government, retained the public di-dende, shut their deers upon a committee the House ci Hepresentatives, and filled to country with panic to accomplish their own si ister objects, may now as menagers of a ne bank, continue with impunity to fleed it country with a spurious currency, use the sven millions of government stock for their or profit, and retuse to the United States all formation as to the present condition of the own property, and the prospect of recovery

it into their own possession.

The lesson taught by the Bank of the Unted States, cannot well be lost upon the Armer ican people. They will take care never age to place so tramenduous a power in irresponding ble hands, and it will be fortunate if they se ously consider the consequences which likely to result on a smaller coals from the